DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 294 525 IR 013 063

AUTHOR Mancini, Paolo
TITLE Strategies of TV News Dramatization: An Attempt of Discourse Analysis.
PUB DATE Jul 86
NOTE 17p.; Paper presented at the International Television Studies Conference (London, England, July 10-12, 1986).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Broadcast Industry; *Dramatics; Foreign Countries; Journalism; *Mass Media; *News Reporting; Politics; *Programing (Broadcast); *Television Research; Trust (Psychology)
IDENTIFIERS *Italy; United States

ABSTRACT

This paper defines indicators related to the dramatization of television and formulates a methodology for analyzing the discourse of the television news based on empirical studies. This methodology is used to isolate some indicators of dramatization as it relates to the structure and form of the message. The changes that have affected the text of Italian television news, and those other changes that are in progress after the transformation of Italian television from a public system in which the RAI monopoly prevailed to today's mixed system in which RAI competes with private television, are described. Elements of dramatization in television news that have been introduced in an effort to attract viewers are discussed at three levels: (1) the communication context; (2) the interactional level; and (3) the narrative level of dramatized news. Indicators that underscore the level of dramatization are identified as extratextual features, the structure of the discourse, and the format. All of these factors are analyzed and discussed with references to numerous studies and writings of others in the field. (6 end notes and 18 references) (CGD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED294525

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Paper presented to the 1986 Interantional Television Studies Conference

London, July 10-11-12, 1986

Paolo Mancini

Instituto di Studi Sociali, Universita di Perugia

STRATEGIES OF TV NEWS DRAMATIZATION: AN ATTEMPT OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

IR013063

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Richard Paterson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Strategies of TV news dramatization: an attempt of discourse analysis

1. The communicative context of dramatization

The purpose of this paper is to define some discoursive indicators related to the dramatization of TV empirical studies which permit formulating a fairly precise methodology for analyzing the discourse of TV news. With this methodology it is possible to isolate some indicators of dramatization concerning the structure and the form of the message. Useful suggestions for this type of analysis, as indeed many other studies on mass media have shown (Goffman, 1981, Kress, 1983, Wolf, 1981, etc.) may be drawn from certain linguistic approaches, more specifically from linguistic pragmatics and from the pragmatics of Bateson and from symbolic interactionism. In particular we shall try to single out which changes have affected the text of Italian TV news and what other changes seem to be in progress after the transformation of Italian television from a strictly public system in which the RAI monopoly prevailed to today's mixed system in which the RAI finds itself having to compete with private television (1).

More precisely, at the macrosociological level it can be affirmed that, today, television news in Italy is a component of the competition among the networks and not the object of this competition. In effect, while there is no legislation governing the television system, there are still some specific rules, the most important this prevents the interconnection of commercial TV networks, or, in other words, the broadcasting of programs simultaneously over the entire national territory. This prohibition effectively prevents all live broadcasting (2). Consequently, private TV is prevented from broadcasting news since this has remained a perogative of the RAI except for the local news prepared and broadcast by the local stations. Because of this it is possible to discuss about some modifications which took place in the tele-

vision magazines while it is possible just to forecast, from small modifications which are taking place just now, next lines of evolution of the daily news. Nevertheless, the evening news is still important in the strategies of competitiveness. It is, as we said, an essential component both because TV evening news with a maximum audience has remained one of the most important arms of the RAI and because certain choices in the daily programming are taken leaving from the knowledge that the news have turned out to be principal points of attraction. For example, the RAI has hired one of the most celebrated newspaper journalists, Enzo Biagi, to conduct a television magazine, "SPOT" , (last year broadcast daily on the model of the U.S. "Nightline" and this year weekly) in competition with private TV channels during the early and late evening. In this sense, the daily news while not being a subject for competition among the different networks through their own programs, is however, an essential component of the choices which play a role today in the competition for the greatest number of viewers. On the other hand television magazines are objects of competition as private networks may broadcast these registered transmissions. Our hypothesis, which comes from previous research on the differentiations between public and commercial networks news (Hallin-Mancini, 1984) and from observations on the changes currently underway, is therefore, that the competion for viewers has introduced some elements of dramatization in televised news. From this complex situation of transition which, moreover, there is no legislative regulation, there come messages characterized by different strategies of communication and by often contrasting structures of discourse and in relation to these messages we propose to identify certain textual components. It is an extremely interesting multiform subject and one which bears witness to a transformation experienced by many other courtries in the past years.

If we analyze the TV message, which is to say what is broadcast and

not how it is produced or received, at least three broad types of indicators can be isolated which form the basis for studying strategies of dramatization and defining some of their structural characteristics. Of course these indicators may be used to point out many other characteristics of the discourse of the news: they are instruments to read the message of the news. In this case we'll use them to underscore the level of dramatization. The first type concerns what can be defined as extratextual features, the second has to do with the structure of the discourse and the format. We shall deal almost exclusively with this last type (we shall just analyze the talked text and not the use visual component), even through it will be necessary to say something about the first two as well.

By the term extratextual features, Gianfranco Bettetini identifies all those elements which, while not being inserted in the specific message which is analyzed, nevertheless, surround it, define its placement in time, foresee it and in particular "prepare in the intended receiver communicative attitudes which are not attributable to the text, but rather to the situation of consumption in which the text is placed" (Bettetini, 1984, p.36. We limit ourselves to indicating some of the extratextual features which contribute to the dramatization of the news: the communicative context, understood both as listening habits and as related to other programs, is defined by placement within a palimpsest. Today the hourly programming of TV news is an integrating part of any competitive strategy. The TV ads which now in Italy too announce non-daily news programs in advance, create the necessary expectations in the viewer in a background of indispensable suspence concerning the story which will be presented. Greater integration between the press and TV media assures that viewers will look forward to knowing the contents of the program and the comments that follow it and transform the program into a launching of a new news program now is allocated much more space in the dailies and period-

icals than in the past. Equally significant is the space dedicated to the criticism and the interpretation of news, whereas a few years ago this sort of examination was reserved exclusively to the reviewing of entertainment events and films.

As regards the news content, many studies (Epstein, 1974; Gans, 1980; Gitlin, 1980) have correlated the processes of dramatization of the news with the theories on the selection of the news. While still today in Italian TV news a substantially political way of thinking (depending largely on the ties which bind the RAI) related to the party system seems to exist, the competition among networks will presumably tend increasingly towards a selection based on the strength of the image, the actual interest of the TV viewer, etc. This is what is happening in the periodical news programs. "SPOT" for example seems to break away from traditional party dominated ways of thinking: the authority of its anchorman, plus other factors too, seem to allow him that independence of judgement which is denied in the presentation of the daily news programs.

2. The interactional level of dramatization

Now we come to the specific subject of this paper: the discourse structure of the televised news and the innovations and changes introduced as a result of competition among the networks. Many authors (Dahlgren, 1981; Lerman 1983) sustain it is necessary to isolate two main levels of analysis within the text of the television news: a first level, which we can define as interactional, concerns the relationship established between who is speaking on the screen and the who is sitting before the screen, and a second level which concerns the contents and the narrative structure of the story which is told.

Let us discuss first the interactional level. In an article published

initially by the magazine "Psychiatry" and then included in the volume "Drama in Life," Horton and Wohl introduced the idea of "parasocial" relationship or the simulation of a face-to-face relationship between the speaker and the viewer (Horton-Wohl, 1976). We prefer to speak of a simulated interaction established between the two subjects. From this, the first indicator, as Veron maintains, is the axis "les yeux dans les yeux" (Veron, 1983). The televised talk simulates a personal relationship and direct contact with the public as though the speaker were conversing directly with the viewer. The viewer, looking into the television camera, looks into the speaker's eyes. Goffman confirms: "often broadcast talk involves a conversational mode of address, but of course merely a simulated one" (Goffman, 1981, p. 188). Compared to interaction in every day life, the interaction simulated by television implies different behaviors which derive largely from the absence of that feature of negotiation among the social actors which characterizes every day life. The person who is speaking from the screen, in effect, is unable to control the behavior and reactions of the viewer and therefore adjust the successive phases of interaction accordingly: the speaker can only presume what the reactions of the viewer will be (3). This requires much work based on presuppositions and elements of content and narration already consolidated in the audience. At the same time, insofar as we are concerned here, this situation involves the use of particular discoursive devices which can be included in two broad areas of interactional indicators: indicators of the presence of the sender/receiver and metadiscoursive indicators.

In the interactions of daily life the need to declare who is the speaker and who is the listener is almost always on a secondary plane as the relationship is implied by actual situation. On the other hand, in a simulated interaction constant references are made to underscore a real declared situation. The two subjects participating in the conversation are often made explicit, becoming as the French semiologist, Greimas, defines them, the "narrator" (narrateur) (the

subject who is speaking) and the "narratee" (narrataire) (the subject who is listening), or better still, since it is a dialogue, the "interlocutor" (interlocuteur) and the "interlocutee" (interlocutaire). This explicitness is achieved through the use of verbal elements such as the use of subjects "I", "we", "you", "the listener" etc. or through direct discourse "now you will see the reporting of", "now we will show you" etc. By indicating the presence of the sender and the receiver the sensation of a real interactive situation is referred to the reinforced.

The meta-discoursive indicators must enable the person who is speaking, since there are no means for verifying immediately the development of interaction, to intervene preventively in order to direct the TV viewer's interpretation in the desired direction. It can therefore be stated that TV discourse is particularly rich in those aspects of control such as the witnessing or stimulation of events in a subsequent moment which Bateson distinguishes "from the exposition of summary of events in a previous moment" (Ruesch-Bateson, 1968).

The presence of metadiscoursive features (excerpts of discourse which refer to other previous or subsequent excerpts) (4) has an essential pragmatic importance, in that the interactive modalities of the actors and their respective roles are specified. Thus the notion of "format" is introduced, used both by mass-mediologists (Altheide, 1976) and by symbolic interactionist (Goffman, 1981). The format refers not so much to the contents of the message as to the modality of presentation and in particular to the communicative setting which confirms the roles of the media actors. While many other possible indicators exist (5), it can be affirmed that the meta-discoursive ones, together with the indicators of the presence of the sender/receiver, are among the main indicators of the structures of the format of the TV message because they define the roles of the actors in the simulated interaction.

The use of dramatization, adopted by Italian TV as a result of competition

among the networks, has already brought significant changes and many more are foreseen in the format. In the television magazines, which are the object of competitiveness, some already very obvious and subastatial discoursive changes have been made whereas in the evening TV news, which, as we have said, can be considered components of competitiveness, only a few possible trends and lines of development can be identified and only a few of their operations can be compared with those of the commercial TV news syste ms of other countries.

The most important meta-discoursive indicators of dramatization are those which we define as product indicators. They include such expressions as "Sam Donaldson, ABC news, Windsor Castle" which the journalist uses to begin or end his service, repeating the name of the network he belongs to. These expressions are equivalent to what the advertising people call "headlines" and are essential ingredient of every message designed to establish a place in a market of similar products. These expressions were once practically unknown in Italian TV news broadcasts but are now used especially in the television magazines and their ads. They constitute the first step in constructing a solid identity of product. While in the past the journalist or moderator felt no need to identify the station or program repeatedly (for example the services were merely introduced by expressions such as "on the scene for us is"), now this need to distinguish the product is beginning to be felt both in the ads and in the message with the continuous repetition of identity: ".... has been interviewed for SPOT by ....". The main function of these indicators is not so much one of conveying news (at least current news) but of reminding the viewer of the name of the product he is using.

A second group of meta-discoursive indicators which confirm a possible form of dramatization consist of indicators in the presentation of the news. More than the previous indicators, they constitute the organizational instruments of TV news, they are "organizational brackets" as Deborah Schiffrin, 1980).

Similarly, TV news is rich in these expressions: "let us see now the reporting of", "here now the scenes of the news conference", which define the different expository strategies of televised news and introduce and conclude the reporting.

These expressions prepare the context of interpretation, the viewer is alerted as to what competences he will have to call on to interpret the excerpts considered. They also serve to organize the TV news, to link it to a whole and to go on to other different phases institutionalizing the role of the different narrators. Specifically, these expressions are the prerogative of the anchorman who is the maximum organizing authority of TV news, he is the "principal meta-enonciateur" (Veron, 1981, p. 38) in that he attributes specific enonciative roles to the other journalists, legitimizing their function before the public. Now, one of the possible forms of news dramatization (which is for example a marked characteristic of U.S. news and in Italy is typical of the television magazines while the evening news are starting to move in this direction) involves strengthening the figure of the moderator as principal meta-enonciator to become the organizational decision-making of the TV news: he becomes the main figure. The clearest example can be furnished by comparing Soviet and U.S. TV news: in the first characterized by a minimum level of dramatization, the announcer is merely a speaker who reads news prepared by others; in the second the anchorman is the charismatic figure we all know well. Italian TV news has begun to and has already moved considerably away from the first model towards the second: the use of meta-discoursive indicators by the announcer confirm this; by using indicators in the presentation of the news he strengthens his own central role (6).

The most widespread form of TV news dramatization involves the creation of star system figures: the anchorman is a star, a leader whose power is based on the trust viewers have in him. An essential ingredient of this trust is his central role in the news format: the meta-discoursive indicators used in the presentation of the news define him as such. He thus performs a more important

role than other journalists do. He decides their movements, he establishes the moment in which they come on the screen. His decision making power must also distinguish him as being omniscient, at least in relation to the other personages. In effect, in dramatized news the anchorman not only introduces the other journalists but also sums up the contents of their reports, showing that he knows all the facts in the world. Accordingly, one of the possible formats of dramatized news includes increasing the role of the anchorman which is confirmed by the interactional level of the TV message and its indicators. The same anchorman is the spectacle. In the "SPOT" format, Enzo Biagi certainly performs this leading role which up to now was unknown in Italian TV news programs.

Further indicators define what role is involved: a recent study of Italian and US TV news (Mancini, 1985) demonstrated for example that the indicators of the presence of the sender/receiver point out a didactic/educational role in Italian TV news while in US televised news the anchorman has a role which can be defined "authoritharian." The Italian anchorman interacts with his audience and often puts them on his side, "Let/look together at reporting by..", he calls on them to participate, "We will show you..", "the viewer can decide..", while the role of the US anchorman is detached, with no contact with the viewer; he is indeed authoritarian, in perfect keeping with his central role in the TV news. In Italian TV news the indicators of relevance too (i.e., further meta-discoursive indicators with which the journalists, and in particular the anchorman confirms the importance of the events which will be illustrated: "there are three important facts today", "The central event to be watched is..") underline the role of the anchorman who submits the most important news to the viewer's attention. Thus too the "supporting subtitle" indicators (indicators which introduce excerpts explicatively: "it should be remembered that," "it is worth knowing that") point out the larger didactic role of the Italian announcer. US news dramatization tends not only towards construcing and amplifying the central role of the announcer, but also transforms him into an authoritarian figure. It is central and yet detached role, so far as his audience is concerned, which defines him as omniscient and therefore worthy of trust. In Italian TV on the other hand the announcer performs lesser functions, he is closer to the viewer whom he tries to educate and introduce to the difficulties of politics.

3. The narrative level of dramatized news

As regards the narrative level, in an article in the "Journal of Popular Culture," David Eason summarized exemplarily the possible models of journalism and the transformations TV discourse have gone through. While in other countries

this occurred earlier, Italy is going through this transformation today: "since its origins in the nineteenth century, commercial journalism has operated under two imperatives. The report should be a valid accounting of the events which it describes and be written in such a way as to engage its audience. It has become common in the history of reporting to speak of two journalisms based on the relative importance placed on these two dimensions. If the emphasis is placed on the relationship of the report to the event, we speak of an informational model of journalism. If the emphasis is placed on the relationship of the report to the reader, we speak of a story model of journalism" (Eason, 1981, p. 128). Although these statements refer to a debate which now seems dated, we nevertheless believe that it effectively sums up the transformations taking place in Italy today. Much in fact has been written on how news discourse is drawing progressively closer to romanticized narration (Henry, 1981) following the necessities imposed by the competition among the networks and the efforts to capture a maximum audience. This seems to be the process involved today in the news programs put on by Italian television. Within their narrative structure (that is the portion of idscourse by which the journalist tells the story and that we divided from the meta-discourse) it is possible to isolate the clearest indicators of this change. Other comparative surveys of the situation in other countries furnish confirmation on the narrative level of the dramatization in TV news broadcasts.

It is well known that TV news and also printed news are subject to a dual contradictory and subsequent logical process: decontextualization and contextualization (Wolf, 1985). At first the events covered by the news are taken out of the real framework in whcih they develop in political, social, sequential, casual framework) and are then fit and "bent" (Wolf, 1985, p.245) to reporting needs. It is at this point that the events are contexstualized or better recontextualized not only within the format of the TV news (hierarchical placement of the news, length, etc.) but also within a discoursive reprocessing which permits appropriate understanding and receiption. Then the journalist reconstructs, according to more or less consolidated models and according to his own scheme of interpretation (which by necessity is also ideological), the sequence of the events, their causes, the consequences etc. It is here then that one can identify a further and more precise process of contextualization which can be defined as "framing," according to Goffman (Goffman, 1974) and as "highlighting," according to Gans (Gans, 1979) or even as the "principle of relevance," according to Van Djik (Van Djik, 1985). In other words, the journalist isolates a few principal aspects of the event and upon these builds his story, arranges the ingredients of his work of contextualization, and organizes his story around a principal link, according to a dominant pattern.

This pattern can be determined by a particular sequence of events, but is may also consist of a personage in a story rich in content and symbolic connotations, with its own semantic valence (for example, "the honest politician," "the busy day of the former President" Etc.). Around this main subject the journalist carries out his work of contextualization relating all the aspects which constitute the context (the causes, the consequences, etc) to the central nucleus of the news.

In the first place it can be stated that the more this process of framing is developed in the text, the more it is possible to find oneself before an attempt at dramatizing the news. Better still it can be stated that the dramatization necessarily requires a broad process of framing, whereas the contrary is not always true and that in other words the framing is an exclusive dimension of dramatization. For example, isolating a "political" interpretation of the events may not be at all spectacular (as occurs on some of the television systems in totalitarian regimes), but it certainly requires a substantial and determining effort of framing of the facts reconstructed according to a specific interpretive line. In this case, the presence in the text of framing operations is an indicator of ideological and "party" reprocessing and not an effort at dramatization.

One of the possible ways of dramatizing news implies some framing operations within the text which are either expressed by relying on engaging and attractive narrative pattern or by the presence of a strong interpretation which, for example, brings out the characteristics of a scoop and the newness and the suspence etc., contained in the event. Obviously dramatized news is definitely more simple to follow than any "journalistic news model" since reporting according to a narrative pattern means selecing only one or some of the possible interpretations and excluding the others together with particulars and details which are not always important for the purposes of selected reconstruction. The Italian example is given by comparing two television magazines: the first "SPOT" by giving precedent to spectacular characterization, simplifies the events by supplying dominant interpretations. and the second "Specialst TG1", by closely following a model of journalistic in-dept reporting may also present contrasting interpretations and give more attention to details which may not be very spectacular etc. In the first program, which was introduced, as we mentioned previously, as a consequence of the competition with the private networks, the announcer performs a principal role constituting the central point of the entire program. Even though he listens to obviously constrasting opinions, he remains the bearer of his own line of interpretation expressed in the choice of subject, the semantic choice of terms, the formulation of questions, etc. And as we have seen, his interactional role is of the maximum importance. The second program is based on an initial film (therefore, its strength lies in images) but most of the time

allotted thereafter is filled with debate: the broadcaster perflrms essentially the role of moderator and coordinator which is often secondary compared to the role of the other participants in the talk show. The differences which can be found in the two programs are borne out by the fragmentation of the audiences which occurs with the commercialization of the TV broadcasts. In contrast with the proposal of a popular, relatively simple program, entailing a singel interpretation which, moreover, is rather clearly brought out by the discoursive development, there is on the other hand the proposal of a more complex, less attrative but more "open" broadcast in that it offers different possible interpretations which appear addressed to an audience which is perhaps more willing to make some intellectual effort.

Let us go on now to the formal rules of the discourse which facilitates the process of framing and therefore dramatizing the news. Semiotic and linguistic studies have clearly demonstrated that different types of communication tend to be developed according to conventional categories and according to formal consolidated rules. In particular Labov and Fanshell state that in reporting the facts which one has witnessed, one tends to follow a narrative scheme which entails some very precise formal segments: the abstract contains the general summary of the story, the orientation includes references to time, place, persons, and behavior characteristics of the situation. This is followed by narrative sequencing whichr uns through the various phases of the story (Labor-Fanshell, a977). Van Djik refers to a schema which is not very far from this one, although it is enriched with further specifications, and adds that it is characteristic of many types of discourse and that it is the one journalists fall back on, working according to formal, widely used and consolidated discoursive categories. It can be stated therefore, that this scheme allows the journalist to draw closer to widely used story models and therefore to respect the discoursive expectations of the viewers and their need to identify with and become involved in the story. Not only this, but is may be presumed, though it requires further verification, that this model facilitates the narrative reconstruction of the story especially with respect to the sequential order of the events (as asserted by Labor-Fanhell in the narrative sequencing). Thus in the journalist's discourse the abstract may consist of the news headline, the orientation may be initial summary in which the place and time of the event are established, the narrative sequencing may consist of the actual development of the story, the evaluation may be composed of the comment or interpretation and the end may comprise the introduction of the subsequent news.

This model, moreover, cannot be considered fixed and unchangeable even though it definitely can facilitate a spectacular reconstruction of the events. It is in effect a model which may not be suitable for some specific framing operations and which is appropriate more for some types of news rather than others. Thus, it seems perfectly usable for crime reporting and social news or in the reconstructions of accidents and catastrophies, while it may be more difficult to apply to political news which is based on highly complex developments marked by frequent changes and contradictions which, and the Italian case is exemplary, require illustrating an infinite array of political positions. According to this interpretation the lack of dramatization in the Italian news is due to its highly political nature which makes a narrative, more engaging reconstruction of the events difficult, except in some news programs more directly involved in network competition.

Paolo Mancini

NOTES

1. The RAI with its three channels competes with three principal private networks (Canale 5, Rete 4, Italia 1) which today belong to a single group (Berlusconi) and also with smaller networks commanding correspondingly smaller audiences (for example Euro TV) and finally with a large number Of local private television stations.

2. Private television programs are broadcast in a minimum time difference by video-recorded casettes and by each local station belonging to the network.

3. To verify viewer reactions, those who speak on television have certain non-immediate instruments such as audience surveys, laboratory situational tests, etc.

4. I'm speaking, following the distinction pointed out by Bateson, of meta-discourse and not of meta-language (actually Bateson speaks of meta-communication) because these excerpts act essentially on the relationship between the actors; their object is the same relationship and not just the language.

5. Among the other indicators to be investigated: hierarchical determination of the news, levels of connection, the subdivision of TV news times and phases, etc.

6. In this regard, it is enough to remember that the first Italian TV news broadcasts in the 60s and 70s emphasized the use of the speaker whose role has been gradually diminished with the increasingly central role of the anchorman.

Bibliography

Gregory Bateson, Verso un'ecologia della mente, Milano, Adelphi, 1983.

Gianfranco Bettetini, La Conversazione Audiovisiua, Milano, Bompiani, 1984.

Peter Dahlgren, TV News as a Social Relation, in "Media, Culture and Society", July 1981.

David Eason, Telling Sories and Making Sense, in Journal of Popular Culture, n.2, 1981.

Edward Epstein, News from nowhere, New York, Vintage Books, 1974.

Todd Gitlin, The whole world is watching, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1980.

D. Hallin, P. Mancini, Speaking of the President: Political structures and narrative forms in Italian and US television coverage, in "Theory and Society", n. 13, 1984.

D. Horton, R. Wohl, Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction: Observations on Intimacy at a Distance, in J. Combs-M. Mansfield (editors), Drama in Life, New York, Hastings House, 1976.

Herbert Gans, Deciding What's News, New York. Pantheon Books, 1979.

Erving Goffman, Forms of talk, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

W. Labov-D. Fanshell, Therapeutic discourse, New York, Academic Press, 1977.

Claire L. Lerman, Dominant Discourse: The Institutional Voice and the Control of Topic, in H. Daivs-P. Walton (Editors), Language, Image, Media, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1983.

Paolo Mancini, Videopolitica, Telegiornali in Italia e in USA, Torino, ERI, 1985.

J. Fuesch-G. Bateson. La matrice sociale della psichiatria, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1968.

Deborah Schiffrin, Meta-talk: Organizational and Evaluative Brackets in Discourse, in "Sociological Inquiry", n. 3-4, 1980.

Teun Van Dijk, News schemata, 1985 (in press)

Elised Veron, Il est la, je le vois, il me parle, in "Commun ications," n. 38, 1983.

Mauro Wolf, Teorie della comunicazione di massa, Milano, Bompiani, 1985.